Go I Know Not Where; Bring Back I Know Not What: Fifty Years of Slavic Folklore in North America

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Source: *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Spring, 2006, Vol. 50, No. 1, Special Anniversary Issue (Spring, 2006), pp. 159-171

Published by: American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20459240

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GO I KNOW NOT WHERE; BRING BACK I KNOW NOT WHAT: FIFTY YEARS OF SLAVIC FOLKLORE IN NORTH AMERICA

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A long time ago in a kingdom not too far away, a young woman was studying Russian literature. She felt a certain dissatisfaction. She was fascinated by art. Art enticed her as if it were a beautiful golden apple. She wanted to grasp the apple of art and to find out what made it grow and flourish, but she did not want to study famous writers or individual works of literature. She wanted something more essential: the core of the apple. She wanted to learn not just about the apple before her, but about all apples, and perhaps, she thought, not just about apples, but about all beautiful things. She wanted to look at the art created by the masses, at art that had a universal appeal. On her quest for the golden apple, the young woman discovered folklore and she gained the wisdom to contemplate and enjoy all the fruits of art.

As is probably obvious from the above narrative, the young woman was me. As with all quests, my journey was threatened by many potential pitfalls. There were the archetypical crossroads where I had to choose between mathematics, art school, and folklore. I am grateful to my donor, wise old man, and subsequent doctoral advisor, Albert Lord, for telling me that folklore was the right path. As with many folk stories, my quest had its ironic twists and now, as I near the journey's end, I can look back and enjoy the irony, contemplating it from the vantage point of age.

There are two ironies that I see. One is that I set out looking for mass phenomena, the artistic creativity of the many, not the few, yet I ended up in a field of the few. There were, and there still are, very few Slavic folklorists in North America. I did not want to study individuals, yet I ended up in a situation where being an individual is a must. If Slavic departments employ a folklorist at all, they have only one, and rarely do they set out to hire a folklore specialist. Usually, they seek someone to teach language and literature classes. If the person who is hired just happens to be a folklorist, if he or she is independent and individualistic, if he or she is a folklore enthusiast, then that person will introduce courses in the field. Yet, even while teaching

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beloved subject matter, the folklorist will forever remain isolated. Not only will he or she be the odd man or woman in the Slavic department, the chances of there being fellow folklorists in other language departments, or even in the English department, the place where most American folklorists teach, are slim. My current situation where I am part of an entire program dedicated to the study of the folklore of a Slavic people, the Ukrainians, is unique in North America. It is a tribute to a most energetic and determined folklore enthusiast, Bohdan Medwidsky, who himself was not hired as a folklorist.

The other irony in my career has to do with tradition. When I chose folklore, I was attracted by its age, its depth, and its power. This is ancient wisdom constantly modified so that it suits today's world as perfectly as it did the ancient one. Because it studies tradition, folklore is a powerful tool that allows us to gaze deep into the essence of a culture. While folklore is the study of traditions, Slavic folklore scholarship in North America has failed to produce a tradition of its own. There are individuals, passionate about folklore. They have made important contributions, both to the study of specifically Slavic folklore and to folklore theory, but they have not established a school or a tradition of American studies in Slavic folklore. Albert B. Lord was the father of the oral theory, a theory that revolutionized our conception of the verbal arts and gave us a new understanding of how many classical literary texts came into being (Lord 1960, Lord and Lord 1995).[1] He was also an important collector of South Slavic epic poetry, publishing texts as well as studies (Lord, Parry and Bartok; Lord and Bynum). He is perhaps the only person to have produced a school, but many of his students were not Slavists and thus his school is one of folklore theory, not Slavic folklore. As for Lord's Slavic graduate students, many went on to non-academic jobs or careers in academic administration.[2] Felix Oinas is among the founding fathers of Slavic folklore scholarship. He taught at Indiana University, one of the most important folklore centers in the United States, and wrote prolifically about both Russian and Finnish folklore (Oinas 1969, 1978, 1985, among others). His students, too, took non-academic jobs as often as they became professors, and some of the latter bowed to the pressure of the departments employing them and gave up writing on folklore topics. What Lord Raglan once said about the archetypical hero can be said about Slavic folklorists: their progeny, their doctoral students, do not succeed them, and when the folklorists themselves retire, they are replaced by specialists in other fields (Raglan). Again, my situation at the University of Alberta is unique. My colleague Andriy

1. In this case and in all subsequent citations, I am giving a few examples only. The lists are not exhaustive.

2. James Bailey, who wrote on folk verse, was probably Lord's senior student in the field of Slavic folklore. See, for example, Bailey and Ivanova; Bailey. John Miles Foley and William Hansen are important Classicists who follow Lord. See, for example, Hansen; Foley 1986, 1988, 2002. Foley also founded the journal *Oral Tradition*.

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Nahachewsky and I both hold endowed chairs that are designated specifically as folklore positions; folklorists will succeed us. Elsewhere, no matter how successful a scholar may be, no matter how popular his or her courses, in all likelihood the position will not remain a folklore slot. It is noteworthy that some departments will offer folklore courses precisely because they are popular with students (Birnbaum et al.). Yet they will ask non-folklorists to teach these courses rather than hiring a specialist trained in folklore, and they will not seek to develop a folklore program. One course large enough to pay the bills is deemed sufficient.

To understand the most un-folkloric fate of Slavic folklore in North America, let us look at it in context. We will take the folklore part first and examine folklore studies in the United States and Canada, what is generally termed American folklore and Canadian folklore. We will then look at the Slavic part. I will make no attempt to discuss Slavic departments; rather, we will look at folklore scholarship in Russia and the rest of the Slavic and East European world.

North American Folklore

Folklore scholarship in the United States is officially over one hundred years old: the American Folklore Society was founded in 1888–89. At the risk of being simplistic, its original purpose can be described as looking for European folklore in the American setting. Collectors looked for traditional forms such as English ballads, preserved in communities isolated from the outside world. Their interest in insular communities, those out of touch with England and the developments occurring on the other side of the Atlantic, was motivated by a desire to recover older forms of ballads and of the English language in general. As folklore scholarship moved away from attempts at reconstructing the hypothetical originals of texts preserved in oral form, interest in the lore that had come into being on American soil grew. At first work was on traditional genres—American versions of the ballads, lyric songs, work songs, folktales, tall tales, and so forth known from Europe. With time, strictly American folklore came to be studied, as did forms that had previously been overlooked or not defined as folklore: the lore of the city and the upper classes, urban legends, children's games and rhymes, food and food culture, now termed foodways, and the like. Work on the folklore of the native peoples of the Americas, first ceded to anthropologists, gradually became a topic of interest to folklorists. More recently, studies of ethnic groups, immigrant communities, Americans who were not English-speaking, have become part of American folkloristics (Zumwalt; Brunvand).

Because America is the land of the new and improved, a land governed by what Dundes (1980) has called the Frontier mentality, American folklore scholarship sought to chart new directions. Folklore in Europe was associated with the past and the peasant. America, on the other hand, looked to the fu-

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ture and had no established peasant class. The American farmer, by contrast to his European counterpart, was not a bearer of centuries-old customs and lore. In all likelihood, he was as "new" as everyone else, a settler in a strange land who had to establish new traditions to fit his new home, or significantly modify the ones he had brought from Europe. Thus, American folklorists increasingly emphasized urban folklore, and folklore itself became defined as a mixture of popular culture and the sorts of oral and customary forms to which folklore was once limited. For example, not only are the stories and legends circulating among college students the subjects of American folklore studies, but their practices, such as food fights, increasingly come under the scrutiny of collectors in the field. Folklorists look not only at strictly handmade creations; they examine chains made by children from gum wrappers and other objects where the material transformed by hand starts out as machine-made. An entire section of the American Folklore Society is dedicated to the Internet and the study of everything from games, to blogs, to the transmission of jokes. The interest in popular culture is perhaps the hallmark of North American folkloristics. It distinguishes American folklore from the scholarship in Europe and even more from the work done in Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet bloc. Canadian folklore is in many senses an outgrowth of American folklore. The Folklore Studies Association of Canada came into being relatively recently: it was founded in 1976. The Association is small and the topics studied and the approaches to them are much like the ones found among American Folklore Society members.

Folklorists, almost by definition, conduct fieldwork, collecting songs, stories, rhymes, and riddles, documenting rituals, clothing, vernacular architecture. Because folklorists work in local communities and many of these are ethnic enclaves, ethnic issues are the subjects of folklore inquiry. It is at this point that Canadian and United States folklore diverge. In the United States, Slavic ethnic communities are neither numerous nor highly visible. Studies of such communities are few. In Canada, on the other hand, especially in the Prairie Provinces, Ukrainians dominate the cultural landscape. Thus studies of Ukrainian Canadian folklore and Ukrainian Canadian ethnic identity and its expressive forms are numerous indeed. Medwidsky has already been mentioned as a leading Ukrainian Canadian folklorist. Robert Bohdan Klymasz, an employee of the Canadian Museum of Man, later the Museum of Civilization, must also be singled out. Now retired, he was a tireless fieldworker as well as an arranger of important museum exhibits. His collections of Ukrainian Canadian materials of all genres and forms and his studies of the history of Ukrainian ethnic identity and its expression have yet to be surpassed (Klymasz 1970, 1973, 1989, 1992, 1996, 2000). Other important scholars of Ukrainian Canadian folklore include Jaroslav Rudnytsky.

The situation is different in the United States. There were few Slavic communities to be studied and this problem was, and probably still is, com-

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pounded by the emphasis on Russian in American academe. The Slavic ethnic communities in the United States were Polish, Serbian, Croatian, Ukrainian, Rusyn, Czech. Until recently, Russians, with the exception of Russian Jews, did not emigrate in large numbers and formed few ethnic enclaves. Thus, Russian communities whose folklore could be studied were not readily available in the United States, and the study of other Slavic ethnic communities was discouraged. If folklore was itself a peripheral discipline, then the folklore of peoples speaking what were then called the secondary Slavic languages was even more marginal. Its collection and analysis was not likely to be a path to promotion and tenure. Furthermore, at the time when the Soviet Union was seen as powerful and threatening, when it was viewed as America's archrival for world dominance, attention was focused overseas, not on North America. There was pressure to work in the Soviet Union, not in the West, but such work was extremely difficult. It was not possible to travel there other than through an official agency such as IREX, the International Research and Exchanges Board. A scholar had to be accepted not only by the American foundation, but also by the Soviet host, and all arrangements, including access to materials, were made by official agencies. Those few who were granted access were confined to Moscow; work in other cities, not to mention the rural areas normally associated with folklore scholarship, was out of the question.[3] It is here that Slavic folklorists from North America found themselves in a unique situation. While a folklorist in a Germanic languages and literatures department, for example, had the option of collecting lore in Germanic communities in North America or traveling to Germany or another European state to do either archival studies or fieldwork, this was just not possible for the Slavist. The Slavic folklorist was essentially restricted to published sources. It is true that we had access to materials that had ceased to be available in the Soviet Union, old collections, rare periodicals that, for one reason or another, were deemed unsuitable and removed from the scholarly domain.[4] Still, the normal practices of folklorists, namely collecting stories and other folk forms from real people and studying similar collections made by earlier folklorists and deposited in archives were just not possible. I remember that in 1987, with *perestroika*, we saw the first softening of the rigid bans on access to areas previously off-limits, folklore included. In that year, scholars were allowed outside of Moscow and the fields of study were less rigidly controlled. Most of the scholars sent from the United States by IREX went to Moscow, as in the past. But a small group went to St. Petersburg (then

3. Because I wanted to do fieldwork and because such work was not possible in the Soviet Union, I learned Turkish, and my doctoral dissertation is on Turkish minstrel tales rather than on minstrelsy in Ukraine and Russia.

4. In my 1998 book, I relied heavily on field reports published in journals. I did use archival materials and the collecting that I was able to do, but obscure published materials proved to be a most valuable source.

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Leningrad), and single individuals were sent to the republics. I went to Ukraine, another person went to Georgia, and another to Kazakhstan. Even then, my sojourn in Ukraine was not easy and, officially, I was allowed library and archive access only. Any collecting of contemporary material that I did, I arranged on my own and, presumably, this work was done illegally.

Slavic folklorists working in North America were in a lonely and isolated position indeed. Unless they were in Canada and studying Ukrainian Canadians, they could not participate in the work of Western folklorists and, as a result, few Slavists were members of the American Folklore Society. This situation has changed in the recent past, especially with the Society's efforts to attract folklorists from around the world. Still, the number of Slavists who are members is small. Slavic folklorists were not really part of the scholarly world in American folklore, and they could not find companionship and collegiality with their Soviet colleagues either. The same restrictions that made it impossible for North Americans to do fieldwork in the Soviet Union kept apart scholars on the two sides of the Iron Curtain. Any interaction was constrained by fear. Both Americans and Soviets could get into trouble if they worked too closely. As a result, Soviet folklorists grew apart from folklore scholarship in the rest of the world. Soviet folklore scholarship and how it developed is our second area of inquiry.

Folklore Scholarship in the Soviet and Post-Soviet World

Once the Iron Curtain went down, Soviet folklore scholarship developed in isolation from the rest of the world. As Miller (1990) has pointed out, at first people assumed that folklore would die out altogether and that there would be no need for folklorists. In the Soviet Utopia, and perhaps even before utopia was achieved, there would be no need for folklore. Superstitions would be dispelled by scientific reasoning and legends that transmitted folk belief would disappear. Life would be joyous. The sorrows of life, be they caused by social injustice or family disharmony, would be gone thanks to economic and social progress and there would be no need to express them in tales or in songs.

It soon became apparent that folklore would not go away. It was just too much a part of being human. At this point authorities decided to use folklore for their own purposes and Soviet social engineering was applied, not only to folklore scholars and the sorts of work assigned to them, but to the lore itself. In fact, one of the jobs of folklorists was to help the folk create lore appropriate to the new era: songs praising Lenin or extolling the virtues of electrification, for example. The extent to which the course of folklore was determined from outside is only now being examined. Of course, since studying folklore processes to understand how tradition functions and how it develops over time is a central concern of folklorists in the West, the fact that Soviets tried to interfere in folklore processes provided a powerful disincentive to

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collecting material in the Soviet Union. Soviet lore was seen as fake rather than folk; it was not worth collecting.

Soviet folklore scholarship did not stagnate as much as may be assumed, even under official pressure. A large number of scholars did indeed run afoul of the authorities, and even Vladimir Propp, the author of the ground-breaking *Morphology of the Folktale*, suffered reprimand and censure (Propp 1958, 1963, 1968, 1984). The marvelously dedicated collector Onchukov was not allowed to publish his work and was eventually arrested and died in a labor camp. A similar fate befell the enormously erudite Kateryna Hrushevs'ka. These are but three examples. Yet people continued to work and to collect. Conditions eased with the Khrushchev Thaw, and by the time of Brezhnev and the period of Stagnation or *zastoi*, folklore collections and scholarship were being regularly published. Some of the collections were marvels of systematic work using the sort of manpower that would never be allotted to folklore studies in the West. Whole field teams would map phenomena, such as well types or windmill types by region. There were even maps of wedding customs (Zorin) and birth customs (Havryliuk).

Although the work of the 1970s and 1980s was solid, it still suffered from numerous restrictions. Scholars were afraid of choosing a topic that might become controversial with time. They limited themselves to safe topics, and the number of studies of material culture (vernacular architecture, clothing styles) was large indeed. Many classic works from the late nineteenth century were off-limits and could not be cited. Folk texts could not be reproduced in authentic form. If they contained references to religion or sex, they could get their collector into trouble. In the various republics of the Soviet Union, such as Ukraine, the same was true of texts that might be construed as expressing a nationalistic sentiment. The job of some folklorists was to purge texts recorded in the field of objectionable elements so they could be presented in public venues, be it publications or performances by choirs and dance groups specializing in folk materials.[5]

The restrictions of the Soviet period made folklorists, like everyone else, want something different once the Soviet Union fell, though, with time, a desire to restore some of the good aspects of the Soviet era, like the massive coordinated projects, has also arisen. I detect several trends in post-Soviet folklore scholarship. One trend is to revel in the formerly forbidden. If religious material was previously off-limits, then books of folk religious verses were especially attractive and among the first items to be published (Fedotov; Selivanov). The same is true of erotic folklore, and some excellent collections

5. While in Ukraine on an IREX fellowship, I sang with a choir that performed folk songs as a hobby (*samodiialnyi khor*). My Ukrainian colleagues would collect songs in the field. Then Leopold Iashchenko, the choir director, or another senior member of the group, would comb the material for potentially dangerous elements. Only then could we sing them at the opening of a new metro stop or other public occasion.

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were produced (Toporkov 1995, 1996a). Ironically, Onchukov's erotic tales were among the first items in his suppressed materials to appear in print (Toporkov 1996b). All the old classics were reissued in their original, uncensored form, though some, like the full academic edition of Afanasiev's folktales, had started to come out late in the Soviet period (1984–85). A closely related trend was emulation of Western folklore scholarship. This applies to both theoretical approaches and subject matter. The study of urban folklore, graffiti and other modern phenomena were formerly the hallmarks of Western bourgeois decadence; now they are the subject of articles and monographs (Belousova and Veselova). A second important trend is characterized by attempts to reclaim folklore as it was prior to Soviet engineering. Precisely because folklore was not allowed to evolve naturally during the Soviet era, scholars who follow this path seek to reconstruct as ancient a version as possible of the item that they are studying, be it a song, a ritual, or a folk custom. Often, they seek a mythical, proto-original version that not only predates the Soviet era, but goes back to ancient times. We know from the failures of the historic-geographic method that recovering a true original is not possible. Only what was collected is available to us. Had other texts or rites been recorded, the picture might well look different. Thus all attempts at reconstruction of ancient forms of oral and customary material are inherently flawed.[6] Still, the desire to recover what was lost is quite understandable. The third trend is a quiet one. It is a continuation of the compendia of the 1970s and 1980s without the restrictions on content and approach. The studies and collections are thorough and detailed, including formerly forbidden items such as religious verse alongside other sung forms. Scholarly approaches come from both Slavic and Western scholarship. For example, a book on folk prose just published in Ukraine uses Lord's oral theory and follows some of his transmission experiments (Britsyna and Holovakha).

Where does all of this leave the North American Slavic folklorist today? One thing that has happened is that the possibility of participating in the scholarly life of fellow folklorists in the various states that developed out of the Soviet Union has changed dramatically. We can now interact freely with our colleagues, see them at conferences, and join them in their expeditions and other collecting work. Yelena and Sergei Minyonok from the Institute of World Literature in Moscow, Svetlana Adonieva of the Propp Center in St. Petersburg and the Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnology in Kyiv conduct regular field expeditions and are eager to have foreigners join them. This has not happened and I believe that I am the only North American folklorist to do regular fieldwork in villages. Jeanmarie Rouhier-Willoughby and Laura

6. Scholars who seek to recover original forms often look to other cultures and lands for data. This is again problematic because other cultures, especially distant ones such as Polynesia, are not likely to have influenced the Slavic world or been influenced by it.

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Olson have worked on urban folklore, but villages fall mainly into the domain of anthropologists. There are numerous reasons for this and some are purely logistical. Soviet era difficulties persist and villagers can be wary of outsiders. Physical hardships such as lack of plumbing deter some; it is just plain easier to work in a city. The difficulty of working in villages is not the only problem, and trends in North American scholarship, folklore and other, are a most important factor.

Folklore scholarship, both Slavic and American/Canadian, has blurred into other disciplines. Non-folklorists have adopted many of our techniques and approaches. Historians conduct oral interviews, making sound recordings and videotapes. Some even look at issues such as narrative patterning when they analyze their data. Sociologists supplement surveys with case studies and questionnaires that allow discursive answers. The use of folklore field techniques by researchers in other disciplines is tremendously heartening except for the fact that few recognize the earlier use of these approaches by folklorists. In the blurring of disciplines, not only have scholars from other disciplines come to folklore, folklorists have sought to behave more and more like researchers outside the folklore field. There is a great deal of emphasis on politics and power. The power structure in the former Soviet bloc is changing rapidly and everyone, folklorists included, wants to study this change. Identity issues dominate folklore scholarship. In many senses, identity studies are most timely. When we examine Slavic ethnic groups in North America, we want to know how their members adjusted to the new homeland and what cultural behaviors they did or did not retain. When we look at the countries of the former Soviet Union, we want to know how people are negotiating their positions in times of rapid change. We want to know the extent to which they seek a national identity and how they incorporate into their current lives those things from the Soviet era that came to have meaning. It is not folklorists' participation in the investigations of identity that poses a problem, it is their neglect of other issues, including those once central to the field.

Folklore scholarship was originally the study of a certain type of art. Whether verbal, visual, plastic, or performative, this is a special sort of art, created not by an individual, but handed down through tradition. Folklore is transmitted in a special way: orally and by custom and practice. It is restricted by tradition at the same time that it draws on tradition for richness and depth of meaning. Creativity is not valued for its own sake, yet creativity can flourish, using the expressive resources of shared ideas. It is the art aspect of folklore that is being overlooked in today's rush to do identity studies. I find this distressing both because we are failing to collect and document today's folklore, leaving a lacuna in our knowledge, and because we are not studying the artistic expression of the momentous changes that are occurring in the Slavic world, both on the territory of the former Soviet Union and among ethnic groups in the West. Change introduces more variables and expands available

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data. We could learn a great deal about art by looking at it in times of change. Instead, folklorists are analyzing how various groups jockey for position and power, and those who do include art in their politically oriented studies, look at it as a tool in power negotiations. They do not seek to understand the art itself. As art is being ignored, so is the village. In today's emphasis on power, rural life becomes uninteresting. Political issues are worked out in the capital and other major cities. To participate in the Orange Revolution, you had to come to the Maidan in Kyiv and all media coverage was of activities in this locale. People in villages have no such readily identifiable political effect and therefore few scholars venture there. This means that an entire sector of the post-Soviet population is being ignored.

The Future of Slavic Folklore in North America

What would I like to see happen? I would like North American scholars to join colleagues from the former Soviet bloc in their fieldwork and other scholarly activities. We have the opportunity to observe folklore in a time of momentous change. We should not miss out on this opportunity. With economic recovery in the post-Soviet world and with greater freedom of movement, folklorists from East Europe should join us here. Their study of Slavic diaspora groups in North America would enrich their understanding of their own folklore and they could provide new perspectives on North American ethnic studies. As an additional benefit, folklorists from East Europe would provide us intellectual companionship; Slavic departments in North America are not likely to start employing more folklorists.

I would like a greater emphasis on folklore as art. Art is a fundamental human activity and our greatest contributions, such as the Parry-Lord oral theory and Propp's morphology, have been to the study of art. As important as identity studies may be, they are not the only key to human behavior. We can make ourselves relevant not just by tackling the identity issues examined by scholars in other fields.

I would like greater Slavic participation in American and Canadian folklore scholarship. There should be more collecting and study of Slavic and East European folklore in the Americas. Now that there are more Russian émigrés, those who wish to study Russian folklore have more resources to work with. With the growing emphasis on the non-Russian parts of the post-Soviet world, the study of the other Slavic groups in North America can now be done without career risk. In conjunction with this, a Slavic folklore center in the United States akin to our University of Alberta Ukrainian Folklore Centre would be a priority. Our center not only offers courses and graduate and undergraduate degrees, it also maintains an archive that serves as a repository for folklore materials. In the United States, there are heritage centers, but these make no effort at collecting folklore. There are folklife centers without academic affiliation that promote song and dance, but do not have the resources to do systematic documentation. Material from Slavic ethnic groups

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is included in the collections of the Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, but Slavic folklore is a low priority. A university-based Slavic and East European folklore center, with archive, would not only document and preserve, it would bring attention and prestige to the field.

Slavic folklorists should look to preparing students who could work outside academe. People who work in American folklore and Canadian folklore do much more than teach folklore courses and write books and articles. They build and maintain the repositories of their fieldwork, namely archives and museums, and they train students who become not only academics, but museum, archive, and library workers. Public sector folklore is an entire division of the American Folklore Society, and people trained in this aspect put on exhibits and stage festivals and concerts. Slavic folklorists should partake of this professional aspect of North American folklore. The students whom they would train could work with ethnic groups, but not be restricted to these. After all, the basic principles of archival or public sector work are the same and can be taught on Slavic material as well as on any other folklore.

Folklore teaches habits of mind that cannot be learned elsewhere. It works in ways that are quite different from high culture. To take just one example, oral literature is created in ways that are unlike the process of writing. The interconnections that function between an oral text and tradition are more akin to the hypertext used in digital media than to the linear presentation characteristic of a written work. Thus, a folklore course, because it expands the horizons of thought, is something from which every undergraduate, no matter what his or her eventual specialization, could benefit. And there is no reason why the folklore taught to undergraduates should not be Slavic folklore. I have proven this in my own career, both by teaching courses with very large enrollments and by preparing students who became specialists in digital humanities, media studies, and education, as well as the more typical folklore fields mentioned above.

I started my story as a young woman not quite knowing where to go or what to seek. I end as an old woman sending others out on quests. But I would like to dispatch the folklore heroes of the future after specific golden apples: the mainstreaming of Slavic folklore, the fieldwork in the former Soviet bloc, the return to the roots of folklore and the emphasis on art. I hope their stories have a happy ending, and in North America, not just in the land that lies three-times-nine kingdoms away.

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